

KIM IL SUNG

ON SOCIALIST
CONSTRUCTION
AND THE SOUTH KOREAN
REVOLUTION IN THE
DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF KOREA

PYONGYANG, KOREA

1962

WORKERS OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

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*Lecture at the "Ali Archam" Academy
of Social Sciences of Indonesia,
April 14, 1965*

Foreign Languages Publishing House
Pyongyang, Korea

1968



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In the past our country was a backward, colonial and semi-feudal society ruled by Japanese imperialism. After her liberation from Japanese imperialist colonial rule, Korea was divided into the North and the South owing to the occupation of South Korea by the U.S. imperialists.

Since liberation North and South Korea have traversed two completely different courses. North Korea, where the people took power into their own hands, has vigorously advanced along the road of national independence and progress, while South Korea under the domination of U.S. imperialism has once again fallen into the road of colonial slavery and reaction. We have freed one half of the country, where we are building a new life. But the other half is still occupied by foreign imperialist aggressive forces, and the national-liberation revolution remains unaccomplished on a 'nation-wide scale.

So, the Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people are today faced with two revolutionary tasks.

One is to build socialism in the northern half of the country and the other is to liberate South Korea from U.S. imperialist colonial rule and realize the unification of the fatherland.

These two revolutionary tasks are closely inter-related and the struggle for their fulfilment is one to expedite the ultimate victory of the Korean revolution as a whole. The aim of the Korean Commun-

ists is to unify their fatherland, carry out the socialist revolution and socialist construction on a nation-wide scale, and then build communism. Our Party, leading the entire Korean people, strives to achieve this aim.

At present, however, the situations in North and South Korea contradict with each other and the revolutions in both parts of Korea are in different stages of development. The revolutionary tasks in North and South Korea at the present stage, therefore, cannot but differ from each other, although the Korean revolution is an integral whole. Namely, the immediate revolutionary task in North Korea is to build socialism, whereas the immediate task in South Korea is to carry out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

We have energetically pushed ahead with the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the northern half of the Republic, rejecting the erroneous view that because South Korea is under U.S. imperialist occupation and our fatherland is not unified, North Korea should wait until South Korea is liberated and should not advance the revolution farther. Meanwhile, we are firmly opposed to all tendencies to think only of socialist construction in the northern half, and to be content with its achievements and to forget the revolution in South Korea and the task of the unification of the fatherland. We have invariably adhered to the principled stand of steadily strengthening North Korea politically, economically and militarily, regarding it as the base of the Korean revolution, and, at the same

time, of helping the South Korean people in their revolutionary struggle to accomplish the South Korean revolution and of fighting for the realization of the country's unification and the carrying through of the revolution in the whole country.

1. ON THE COURSE OF PROGRESS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE NORTHERN HALF OF THE REPUBLIC

Since the first days of the seizure of power, our Party has waged a struggle to convert the northern half into a reliable base of the Korean revolution by accelerating the revolution and construction in the liberated, northern half of the country to the utmost in conformity with the lawful demands of social development and, at the same time, by building up powerful internal revolutionary forces there. All the revolutionary struggle and construction work we have carried on in the northern half have been geared to the implementation of this consistent policy of our Party.

In the northern half of our country the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution was successfully completed in one to two years after liberation. As a result, the northern half, on the basis of the victory of the democratic revolution, entered a period of gradual transition to socialism. The socialist revolution and socialist construction in the northern half of the Republic got into full stride

in the postwar days as subjective and objective conditions further matured.

Our Party and people had to start building a new society under the circumstances of a backward economy and culture inherited from the old society, of the country having been divided into the North and the South, and of being confronted directly with the U.S. imperialist aggressive forces. Moreover, we had gone through a grim three-year long war against the armed aggression of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. All this created untold difficulties and complications in our revolutionary struggle and construction work.

After the Korean armistice we were faced with the difficult task of rapidly rehabilitating the ruined national economy and stabilizing the deteriorated people's livelihood in a short space of time, while actively pushing ahead with the socialist revolution.

The war damage in our country was serious beyond description. The U.S. imperialists had showered North Korea with bombs, an average of 18 per square kilometre, and reduced our towns and villages to heaps of ashes. Industry, agriculture, railway transport and all other branches of the national economy were completely destroyed and so were educational, cultural and public health establishments. The people had lost practically all their homes, furniture and household belongings, and there was an acute shortage of food and clothing.

In fact, we were in such a bad fix and so many complicated problems cropped up before us at that time that we found it difficult to decide what to do first.

Under the circumstances, the most important thing was clearly to define the orientation for, and the order of priority in, the rehabilitation and construction, and to grasp the main link precisely and concentrate all efforts on it.

Regarding heavy industry as the main link in the successful solution of all problems of postwar rehabilitation and construction, our Party put forward the line of ensuring priority for the growth of heavy industry with simultaneous development of light industry and agriculture. Also, in developing industry, heavy industry in particular, the Party ensured that priority was given to the rehabilitation of those branches which were essential to the national economy and people's livelihood in our country at the time, and those which could produce quick economic results. In agriculture, the Party saw that the main efforts were directed to the production of grain in order to speedily solve the food problem, one of the most pressing problems in the postwar period, while carrying out socialist co-operation in the private peasant economy.

It was according to this line and policy that the Three-Year Plan for Postwar Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy (1954-1956) was mapped out and the whole Party and the entire people set themselves to its implementation.

The anti-Party elements lurking within the Party, and the revisionists and dogmatists both at home and abroad were much critical of the line of ensuring the priority growth of heavy industry with simultaneous development of light industry and agri-

culture. They cast slurs at the line of our Party, alleging that "Too much stress is put on the building of heavy industry while the people are leading a hard life," "Machines do not give food," and the like. According to their arguments, everything should have been directed to the immediate need of consumption, leaving the future out of account. Their purpose, in the final analysis, was to prevent our country from building its economic foundations.

Our Party categorically rejected these arguments and firmly adhered to the line it had adopted. In this, the Party's intention was to create, in a short time and by every possible means, an economic basis which would enable us to stand on our own feet, while rapidly getting the people out of their deteriorated life.

Needless to say, it was an extremely difficult task to solve at once the questions of laying the economic foundations and of the people's livelihood when all had been destroyed and we were short of everything. But we could not turn away from the demands of the revolution whatever the difficulties, nor could we sacrifice the vital interests of the country and the people for momentary ease.

The Party trusted in our people who had been tempered in the flames of war and rallied firmly around the Party. The Party considered that it was fully possible to carry out the task if the power of the masses of the people and all the domestic resources were enlisted to the full and an effective use was made of the aid from fraternal countries. Under the leadership of the Party, our working people over-

fulfilled the postwar Three-Year Plan before the set time by tightening their belts, making strenuous efforts and surmounting manifold difficulties.

As a result, the people's standard of living improved considerably, and industry and agriculture not only regained the prewar level of production but far exceeded it. Big strides were also made in the socialist transformation of the old relations of production, particularly in the co-operativization of agriculture.

Our success in those days was admittedly an initial one and our economic situation was still difficult. But having finished the postwar rehabilitation, we were able to live on our own assets and carry on socialist construction more energetically.

Having completed the Three-Year Plan, we set out on the Five-Year Plan in 1957. The aim of the Five-Year Plan was to complete the building of the foundations of socialism in our country.

On the basis of the successes and experiences gained in socialist transformation, our Party put forward the task of completing the co-operativization of agriculture and the socialist transformation of private trade and industry in the five-year period.

The central task of the Five-Year Plan in socialist construction was to lay the foundation for socialist industrialization and solve in the main the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people. Thanks to the successful fulfilment of the postwar Three-Year Plan, our country went over from the period of rehabilitating the national economy to that of its technical reconstruction. Setting the Five-Year Plan

as the first stage of technical reconstruction, the Party decided to lay the basis of socialist industrialization in this period, thereby further consolidating the foundations of an independent national economy and preparing the material and technical conditions for equipping all branches of the national economy with modern technique in the future. At the same time, we saw to it that enormous efforts were directed to grain production, the textile industry and housing construction in order to solve the problems of food, clothing and housing—the basic requirements of the people's life.

At the outset of the Five-Year Plan, we were faced with new difficulties and trials.

As is known to all, the years 1956-1957 were those when modern revisionism emerged on a wide scale in the international communist movement and the world imperialists and international reactionaries, availing themselves of it, unfolded an extensive "anti-communist" campaign. In our country at that time the U.S. imperialists entrenched in South Korea and their lackeys, keeping pace with the international "anti-communist" campaign, stepped up their reactionary offensive against the northern half of the Republic on an unprecedented scale. Also, the anti-Party revisionist elements within the Party came out to attack the Party, taking advantage of the complicated situation and with the backing of outside forces. The anti-Party elements within the Party and their supporters abroad, revisionists and big-power chauvinists, lined up as one in opposition to our Party and carried on conspiratorial activities

to overthrow the leadership of our Party and Government.

On top of this, there were great difficulties in our economic construction, too. We were short of materials and funds to carry out the enormous Five-Year Plan, and the people's life was also still hard then.

With what, and how should we tide over the complex situation, was the most serious problem confronting us.

We had no alternative but to rely on our Party members and people. Our Party decided to surmount the difficulties and trials by placing confidence in the Party members and the masses of the people and mobilizing their efforts.

Thus, the Party, while knitting its ranks more closely and uniting the entire people more firmly around it and thereby dealing a decisive counterblow to the offensive of the enemies of all kinds both within and without, directed its main effort to the construction of socialist economy. Under the circumstances, our Party's intention was to rouse the whole Party and the entire people into activity to consolidate the positions of our revolution more firmly as rock, bring about a great upsurge in socialist construction and, in so doing, shatter completely all the offensives of internal and external enemies and open up an even wider vista for the revolution and construction in our country.

According to this line of the Party, the December 1956 Plenum of the Party Central Committee, known as a historic plenum in our country, discussed and

made decisions on the first year's tasks of the Five-Year Plan and ways and means of their implementation. After the plenum, members of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee and all other leading cadres went to factories and villages, acquainted the working people fully with the difficult situation facing us and roused them to a heroic struggle to surmount the difficulties and trials.

Our Party members and the working people came out in resolute support and defence of the Central Committee of the Party and, by unfolding a vigorous struggle in response to the Party's call, brought about great changes on all the fronts of socialist construction. Everywhere they explored immense reserves and potentialities, performed great feats of labour and miracles unimagined in the past. Industrial output rose 40-50 per cent in one year and in agriculture bumper harvests were reaped year after year. Our towns and villages changed in appearances everyday and the people's living standards rose rapidly.

Such being the situation, all the "anti-communist" offensive of the enemy and the attack of the anti-Party elements went by the board, and those who had been vilifying us were silenced. Meanwhile, the prestige of our Party among the masses was enhanced as never before, the unity within our ranks was further strengthened and socialist construction in our country began to progress at a tremendous rate. In other words, we turned misfortune into a blessing through our struggle.

This is how the great upsurge in socialist con-

struction and the Chollima movement started in our country.

By constantly pushing forward the upsurge of socialist construction and the Chollima movement we fulfilled the enormous tasks of the Five-Year Plan far ahead of the scheduled time. Agricultural co-operativization and the socialist transformation of private trade and industry were completed already in 1958 almost simultaneously without a hitch. As regards production, in terms of the total value of industrial output, the Five-Year Plan was fulfilled in only two and a half years and on indices of products it was fulfilled or overfulfilled in four years.

With the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan, our country was turned into a socialist industrial-agricultural state based on the firm foundations of an independent national economy. Socialist relations of production came to hold undivided sway in the towns and countryside, and the base of heavy industry with machine-building industry as its core, and the base of light industry were laid. The rural economy, too, was put on a firm foundation of production. The people's livelihood improved and all people were freed from worries about food, clothing and housing. In this way, the historic task of laying the foundations of socialism in the northern half of our country was accomplished successfully.

The Fourth Congress of our Party summed up the achievements of the Five-Year Plan and put forward the Seven-Year Plan (1961-67), a magnificent programme of socialist construction. The Seven-Year Plan, it may be said, marks the decisive stage in

socialist construction in the northern half of our country.

The fundamental tasks of the Seven-Year Plan are to carry out the all-round technical and cultural revolutions on the basis of the triumphant socialist system, thereby laying the solid material and technical foundations of socialism and greatly improving the material and cultural standards of the people.

In a country like ours, where there were no industrial revolution and normal stages of capitalist development in the past, the technical revolution poses itself as a task of special importance during the period of socialist construction. In conformity with the urgent demands of social development, we have completed the socialist transformation of production relations before the technical reconstruction of the national economy, thereby opening up a broad avenue for the development of the productive forces, particularly for the carrying out of the technical revolution. By laying the basis of socialist industrialization during the Five-Year Plan, we also formed the material and technical foundations for the all-round technical reconstruction of the national economy. Thus the central problem of the Seven-Year Plan is the thorough carrying out of socialist industrialization and the equipment of all branches of the national economy with modern techniques.

With the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan our country will become a socialist industrial state and will have established the system of an independent national economy developed in a many-sided way. As regards the people's life, the problems of food, cloth-

ing and housing will be solved more satisfactorily.

In carrying out the Seven-Year Plan our working people have achieved great successes during the past four years, and they continue to wage a vigorous struggle for its fulfilment.

Needless to say, our Seven-Year Plan is a very enormous plan and we are building the economy under complex internal and external circumstances. So, it is by no means an easy task to fulfil the plan. Particularly, because of the fact that we had to direct great efforts to the further strengthening of the defence capacities to cope with the situation obtaining in the last two or three years, the economic development of our country fell somewhat behind the schedule.

But our people under the leadership of the Party will fulfil the Seven-Year Plan without fail by waging a more vigorous struggle.

2. ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM

The abolition or reorganization of the old production relations based on private ownership and the establishment of the undivided sway of the socialist relations of production constitute the basic content of the socialist revolution. In our country the establishment of socialist production relations was realized through a number of revolutionary reforms—expropriating the property of the imperialists and their stooges and abolishing the relations of feudal land

ownership and, on this basis, co-operativizing private peasant farming and transforming private trade and industry on socialist lines.

In formerly backward, colonial agrarian countries like ours where the peasants made up the absolute majority of the population, the transformation of the socio-economic relations in the countryside is of particular importance in building a new society.

The most pressing revolutionary task that confronted our people immediately after liberation was to do away with the feudal relations predominant in the countryside.

We freed the productive forces in agriculture from feudal shackles and emancipated the peasants from exploitation and enslavement by the landlords by a thorough land reform on the principle of confiscating the landlords' land and distributing it gratis among the peasants. This was a revolutionary change of great significance not only in the speedy development of agriculture and improvement in the livelihood of the peasants but also in strengthening the worker-peasant alliance and democratizing the political, economic and cultural life of the country as a whole.

The abolition of the feudal relations, however, is but the first step in solving the rural question. As a result of the land reform, private peasant farming which comes under the category of small commodity production, became predominant in our countryside. As is generally known, as long as small peasant farming predominates in the countryside the productive forces are bound to run up against def-

inite limits to their development and exploitation and poverty cannot be stamped out. In order to completely free the productive forces in agriculture from the fetters of the old production relations and emancipate the peasants once and for all from exploitation and oppression of every description, it is necessary to effect socialist co-operativization in agriculture.

In our country, the co-operativization of agriculture became a most urgent requirement in the post-war period. Owing to the war, agriculture was severely devastated and labour and draft-animals fell very short. If, under such conditions, private peasant farming had been maintained, it would have been impossible for us to restore the agricultural productive forces speedily, to improve the peasants' livelihood and, especially, to solve the problem of the poor peasants whose number had increased further during the war. Most of the peasants were then at the end of their tether finding it quite impossible to do farming without joining forces in one way or another. Meanwhile, the socialist state-owned economy, which occupies the leading position in our national economy, was exerting a great influence on private peasant farming. The fast-developing socialist industry, in particular, offered us the possibility of giving material assistance to the peasants' co-operative movement. As for the balance of class forces in the rural areas, the influence of the rich peasants whose economic foundation had been destroyed in the war, was very insignificant. In contrast, our labouring peasants, through protracted revolutionary struggles and the severe war, were politically awak-

ened and rallied even more firmly around the Party.

Taking all this into account, our Party presented agricultural co-operativization as an immediate task right after the armistice and actively pushed forward the movement for it as the peasants' enthusiasm grew.

The co-operativization of agriculture in our country was successfully completed in the short period of four to five years after the war strictly in accordance with the principle of object lessons and the voluntary principle and thanks to the powerful leadership and assistance of the Party and the state.

We first began with the work of forming, on an experimental basis, a few co-operatives in each county with poor peasants and core members of the Party in the countryside who were most active in supporting agricultural co-operativization, and of consolidating them. This was the experimental stage in the agricultural co-operative movement in our country. It is of course necessary to study and assimilate the experiences of other countries in any revolutionary struggle or in any construction work, but what is most important of all is one's own experience. Especially, one cannot extensively undertake from the beginning such a complex, far reaching socio-economic transformation as agricultural co-operativization, only by drawing on others' experience or prompted merely by a subjective desire, when one has not yet accumulated a certain amount of experience oneself.

Through the experimental stage we were able to determine the proper forms, methods and speed of

co-operativization suitable to the actual conditions of our country, and to help our cadres to accumulate experience and gain confidence in leading the movement. And on the strength of our own experience we were able to demonstrate the advantages of co-operative farming to the peasants, thereby inducing them to join the co-operatives voluntarily and on a mass scale.

The leadership and assistance given by the Party and state of the working class are essential for the emergence, consolidation and development of the socialist system in the countryside. We conducted tireless political work among the peasants to lead them along the road of socialist collectivization, and did everything in our power to consolidate the organized co-operatives politically and economically. Our Party's energetic leadership and the state's powerful material assistance to the co-operative movement played a decisive part in overcoming all the difficulties of the postwar period and ensuring definite victory for the system of the socialist agricultural co-operative economy.

Foreign revisionists, big-power chauvinists and their followers, the anti-Party factionalists in our country, were much critical of our Party's policy on agricultural co-operativization, too. They alleged that agricultural co-operativization was impossible when socialist industrialization had not been realized and modern farm machines were not available and alleged that the co-operativization of agriculture in our country was proceeding too quickly. Those who alleged that way were both ignorant of the actual

situation in our country and did not try to understand it too.

It is obvious that, had we missed the best opportunity when all conditions were ripe for the co-operativization of agriculture, and had we not carried it out in good time, waiting for the day when our industry was developed enough to mass-produce modern farm machines, we might have failed to restore our agriculture rapidly and this in the long run would have much more retarded the development of industry itself and the national economy as a whole.

Our experience has shown that agricultural co-operativization is fully possible when life urgently calls for the transformation of the outdated production relations and when enough revolutionary forces have been prepared to undertake it, even though modern farm machines may be nearly non-existent, and that co-operative farming thus organized is decisively superior to private farming.

The establishment of socialist production relations in the towns proceeded in a way different from that in the countryside.

In our country's economy in the past, industry and other major branches were monopolized by Japanese imperialist capital, the development of national capital being very much restricted. Hence, right after liberation, the nationalization of industries, along with the land reform, presented itself before us as an important task of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. We nationalized the industries, transport facilities, communications and banks which were owned by Jap-

anese imperialists or traitors to the nation, and thereby brought the country's basic means of production under ownership by the whole people. This was a historic change that enabled us to eradicate the economic footholds of foreign imperialism and create the socialist state-owned economy for the first time in our country.

As a result of the nationalization of industries, the socialist state-owned economy came to hold the leading position in our national economy, while capitalist trade and industry, insignificant from the beginning, came to play a still more secondary role. In these conditions, our Party followed the policy of drawing the capitalist traders and industrialists into socialist construction and of gradually reorganizing their economy on the basis of the speedy expansion and development of the socialist state-owned economy.

After the war, the socialist transformation of capitalist trade and industry became a more urgent requirement. The war damage rendered capitalist trade and industry nearly non-existent, and even the remaining part was mostly reduced to fragmented economy with little to distinguish it from handicraft and small trade. Right after the armistice, the entrepreneurs and traders of our country found themselves in a position where they could neither restore their economy nor improve their livelihood, without relying on the socialist economy and pooling their efforts and funds.

In the prevailing situation, our Party put forward the policy of transforming capitalist traders

and industrialists along with handicraftsmen and small traders into the socialist economy through co-operative economy of various types. This conformed not only to the demands of socialist construction but also to the interests of the entrepreneurs and traders themselves. Almost all the entrepreneurs and traders, therefore, accepted our Party's policy on co-operativization, and the socialist transformation of private trade and industry was completed in a short period after the war.

With the completion of the co-operativization of agriculture and the socialist transformation of private trade and industry, a socialist system free from exploitation and oppression was firmly established in the northern half of our country. This opened a wide avenue for the rapid development of the country's productive forces and the radical improvement of the people's material and cultural life. The victory of the socialist system also created the socio-economic conditions for the political and moral unity of the entire people based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class.

3. ON SOCIALIST ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

Economic construction is a very important task for the Marxist-Leninist Party which has assumed power.

Once in power, the Marxist-Leninist Party must be responsible for the life of the people and is duty bound to systematically improve their material and

cultural well-being. The question of the people's livelihood can be solved only when economic construction done well. Also, economic construction creates material conditions for strengthening the might of the country and for consolidating the victories already gained in the revolution and further expanding and developing them. The economic construction in the northern half of our country, in particular, is of decisive significance not only to the happy life of the people in the northern half, but also for the strengthening of our revolutionary base, the guarantee of the unification of the fatherland, and for assisting the people of South Korea in their revolutionary struggle. Our Party, therefore, ever since the early days of liberation, has made every effort to consolidate the economic foundations of the country and steadily improve the people's livelihood.

In our country which was formerly under imperialist colonial rule, the most important question in socialist economic construction was to create and develop a modern industry.

In the years of Japanese imperialist rule our country's industry was insignificant. Owing to the exclusive sway of Japanese imperialist capital, the development of the national industry was restricted to the last degree and even the traditional handicrafts were totally ruined. With the sole aim of plundering Korea of her resources and exploiting her people, the Japanese imperialists built in our country only a few industries producing raw materials and semi-finished goods. The manufacturing

industries were quite negligible, and the machine-building industry in particular was practically non-existent. The technical equipment of industry was extremely backward.

It was this colonial industry which we inherited from the old society, and even that was utterly destroyed owing to the war.

In these circumstances, a modern industry could not be built merely by rehabilitating and developing the industry which had already existed. We had to put an end to the colonial lop-sidedness of our industry and radically improve its technical equipment, while ensuring a high rate of growth in industrial output.

On the basis of the nationalization of the key industries which was effected immediately after liberation, our Party vigorously pushed ahead with industrial construction, and in the postwar period especially, carried out this work on a large scale. In this way, we have achieved great success in the creation of a modern industry.

The annual rate of growth of industrial production in the ten postwar years from 1954 to 1963 averaged 34.8 per cent. Our country's industrial output in 1964 was about 11 times that of the pre-war year 1949 and more than 13 times that of the pre-liberation year 1944.

As a result of the rapid growth of industrial production, the proportion of industry in the total value of industrial and agricultural output jumped from 28 per cent in 1946 to 75 per cent in 1964.

Heavy industry is the basis for the development

of the national economy. Unless heavy industry is developed, light industry and agriculture cannot be developed, nor can all branches of the national economy be equipped with modern techniques. Especially, heavy industry is the material basis for the country's political and economic independence, without which we can neither talk about an independent national economy nor strengthen national defence capacities.

Our Party's line in regard to the building of heavy industry was to create our own basis of heavy industry which is equipped with new techniques, which relies mainly on domestic natural resources and the sources of raw materials for its development and can meet the demands of our national economy for materials, raw materials, fuel, power, machinery and equipment mainly with home products. This is the line of creating an independent modern heavy industry.

It was of paramount importance in implementing this line of our Party to combine the rehabilitation, reconstruction and new building of heavy industry plants in a rational way, and correctly link the development of heavy industry with that of light industry and agriculture.

What we had in the way of heavy industry was backward in technical equipment and was deformed and severely damaged. But, for all that, we could not abandon it. Our Party has followed the line of rehabilitating the existing foundation of heavy industry, reconstructing and expanding it on the basis of new techniques so as to make the most of

it, while, at the same time, building such new industrial branches and enterprises as our country did not possess.

While steadfastly ensuring the priority growth of heavy industry, our Party has also endeavoured to build a heavy industry not for heavy industry's sake, but to build one capable of most effectively serving the development of light industry and agriculture and the improvement of the people's livelihood.

In this way we were able to build up a powerful heavy industrial basis with comparatively small funds in a historically short space of time and, on this basis, rapidly develop light industry and agriculture, too.

Our heavy industry has come to possess all its key branches, is equipped with new techniques and has its own solid raw material bases. In 1964 our country's heavy industry produced 12,500 million kwh electricity, 14,400,000 tons of coal, 1,340,000 tons of pig and granulated iron, 1,130,000 tons of steel, more than 750,000 tons of chemical fertilizers, 2,600,000 tons of cement, and large quantities of machinery and equipment and various other means of production.

One of our biggest achievements in the building of heavy industry is the creation of our own machine-building industry.

The revisionists, talking about "international division of labour," opposed our Party's line on the building of heavy industry and maintained, among other things, that our country did not need to de-

velop the machine-building industry but would do well to produce only minerals and other raw materials. Of course, we could not follow their view.

Our Party started building underground machine factories already during the war, and has rapidly expanded the machine industry in the postwar period.

Entering the period of the Five-Year Plan, we set about developing the machine-building industry on a large scale so as to produce by ourselves not only medium and small machines and equipment and the accessories but also heavy machines and equipment required by our national economy as far as possible.

This was a very difficult task for us, as we had no experience and were lacking in technique. It goes without saying that those who did not approve of the development of the machine-building industry in our country could not help us. When producing tractors, motor-cars and other modern machinery and equipment for the first time, we had to do everything by ourselves, from designing to assembling. Our workers and technicians met with many a setback, but they strove with set teeth until at last they succeeded in turning out such machines and equipment, and came to mass-produce them. We also promoted a let-machinetool-make-machinetools movement on a mass scale to make machine-tools in all places where there were machine-tools, thereby rapidly extending the foundations of the machine-building industry and, at the same time, convincing our working people that they

were capable of making machines of any type.

The machine-building industry of our country was created after such a tough struggle. But in this course our working people accumulated invaluable experiences, gained a deeper faith in their own strength and talents, and came to take better care of the machines and equipment they themselves had made experiencing all sorts of difficulties.

Thus, though our country did not have the machine-building industry in the past, we are now producing mainly at home machinery and equipment, including generating, chemical and metallurgical equipment, motor-cars, tractors, excavators and other heavy machines and equipment, needful to our national economy. In 1964 the proportion of the machine-building industry in industrial output was 25.8 per cent and the rate of self-sufficiency in machinery and equipment was 94.3 per cent.

Today our heavy industry with the machine-building industry as its backbone, constitutes the reliable material foundation for equipping all branches of the national economy with modern techniques and for firmly guaranteeing the political and economic independence of the country.

Light industry was one of the most backward sections in our country. We have made great efforts to build up our own basis of light industry which is capable of meeting the needs of the people.

Our Party's policy in the production of consumer goods for the people is to develop medium- and small-scale local industry side by side with large-scale central industry.

We have built many large-scale central industry plants which constitute the backbone of light industry, and have constantly strengthened their technical equipment, thereby actively increasing the production of various consumer goods.

But in view of the economic conditions of the country, we could not built many large-scale light industry factories at once. If we had relied on the large-scale light industry factories alone, we would not have been able to rapidly abolish the backwardness in light industry, nor would we have been able to meet the rapidly growing needs of the people in any way. A decisive measure was needed to bring about changes in the production of consumer goods for the people.

Our Party, therefore, decided to develop the production of consumer goods in an all-people movement, and put forward the policy of building more than one local industry factory in each city or county. The working people in all parts of the country rose as one to implement the Party's policy and built more than 1,000 local industry factories in only a few months without spending much state funds, by mobilizing the idle materials and manpower available in the localities. This made possible the production of various consumer goods in large quantities. Our country now has more than 2,000 local industry factories, the technical equipment of which has been strengthened considerably. Our local industry accounts for more than half the whole country's output of consumer goods.

Our experience shows that in view of the eco-

conomic and technical peculiarities of light industry, it is, in general, rational to develop medium- and small-scale factories side by side with large ones. Especially it shows that it is an effective way of increasing consumer goods production and rapidly developing industry as a whole in the underdeveloped countries to build many local factories which are comparatively simple in technique and are small in scale. The construction of local industry is also of very great importance to the even development of all the localities in the country, and especially to the bringing of industry closer to agriculture and the gradual elimination of the distinctions between town and country.

We have built our own basis of light industry, which consists of central industry and local industry, and thus have come to be able to ensure our people's livelihood with consumer goods produced at home. Take only the textile industry for example. The output of fabrics increased 195 times that before liberation, with 25 metres of various fabrics going round per head of the population. The food industry and the production of daily necessities have also grown rapidly.

Our consumer goods are not yet of high enough quality and their variety is also not so great as is required. But our working people are proud that all the consumer goods they use are made by their own hands, and they use them with pleasure. In the near future we will solve the question of making the variety of consumer goods richer and raising their quality as a whole to the world level.

The rural question occupies a very important place in socialist construction.

The rural question is the question of the socio-economic position of the peasantry as an ally of the working class, and is a question of the development of the productive forces in agriculture, one of the two major branches of the national economy. The completion of the socialist agricultural co-operativization marks a historic turning-point in the solution of the rural question. But it still does not mean the final solution for the rural question.

Following the establishment of the socialist system in the countryside, it becomes necessary, on the basis of steadily consolidating this system, to develop the productive forces in agriculture to a high level, create a bountiful life for the peasants, liquidate the backwardness of the countryside, left over by the exploiter society, and gradually eliminate the distinctions between town and country.

In socialist society, too, the material and technical foundations of agriculture are weaker than those of industry; the cultural level of the rural population is lower than that of the urban population and the peasants fall behind the workers in ideological consciousness. And it is because of this backwardness of the countryside in comparison with the towns that co-operative ownership remains the dominant form in agriculture, unlike in industry where ownership by the whole people predominates. Hence the class distinctions between the working class and the peasantry remain too. The rural question will be solved finally only when the distinctions

between town and country and the class distinctions between the working class and the peasantry are eliminated.

For the successful solution of the rural question in socialist society, it is necessary to carry out the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions thoroughly in the rural areas; to strengthen in every way the support to the countryside; to steadily improve the guidance and management of agriculture; and to continuously bring co-operative ownership closer to ownership by the whole people. We have carried on rural work on these principles since the co-operativization of agriculture.

In the past our country's agriculture was based on backward mediaeval technique. And in our country co-operativization was realized with practically no technical reconstruction of agriculture. Thus, the technical revolution in the countryside posed itself as the most urgent problem for the development of socialist co-operative agriculture.

As the co-operativization of agriculture was nearing completion and as industry developed, our Party lost no time in setting about the technical revolution in the countryside.

The Party laid down irrigation, mechanization, electrification and chemicalization as the basic tasks of the technical revolution in the countryside and started with irrigation.

Agriculture, unlike industry, depends largely on natural-geographical conditions, and climatic conditions in particular. So, irrigation is the basic guarantee of high and stable harvests in agriculture. We

have in the postwar period conducted an all-people movement to remake nature on a large scale for irrigation, spending enormous state funds. As a result, we are in the main able to free agriculture from drought and flood, and have laid the solid foundation for production free from crop failure.

No little successes have also been attained in mechanization, electrification and chemicalization. Our countryside now has 20,000 tractors (in terms of 15 h.p. units). This is equal to one tractor per 100 *jongbo* of crop area. And about 300 kilogrammes of chemical fertilizers are applied to each *jongbo*. In the pre-liberation days our countryside had no electricity, but now electricity is supplied to 95.5 per cent of all the rural *ri* and 81 per cent of all the farm houses.

While energetically pushing forward irrigation, mechanization, electrification and chemicalization, we have exerted untiring efforts to introduce extensively the achievements of agricultural science and advanced farming techniques, and in particular to develop intensive methods of farming.

Thanks to all these measures agricultural production has continued to grow rapidly in our country. Grain output has doubled in comparison with the pre-liberation period. Stockbreeding and other branches of the rural economy have also made great progress. The food problem, one of the most difficult problems in the history of our country, has been solved in the main and for some years now we have been self-sufficient in food supply.

As a result of the growth of the productive forc-

es in agriculture and the vigorous advance of the cultural and ideological revolutions in the countryside, the appearance of our rural areas has changed, the livelihood of the peasants has improved and their political awakening and the level of their consciousness has been further enhanced. Our socialist system of agricultural co-operative economy has been further consolidated and developed and a rational system of guidance and management of agriculture has also been established.

Needless to say, in view of the tremendous tasks of socialist rural construction the achievements we have made in rural work are still initial ones. Nevertheless, we have laid a solid foundation for the construction of the socialist countryside. We have also found the right orientation for the solution of the socialist rural question through our own achievements and experiences, and we know clearly what we should do in future in respect to rural work. Our Party and people will continue to solve the rural question competently on the basis of the achievements already made and in conformity with the orientation and tasks already fixed.

One of the most important questions in socialist construction in backward countries is the training of national cadres.

In the early years following liberation we were very short of national cadres, technical cadres in particular, and this was one of the biggest obstacles to our state administration and economic and cultural construction. The question of national cadres, therefore, was an acute problem for us.

The question of old intellectuals is of great importance in building up the ranks of national technical cadres. Whether or not old intellectuals are drawn into the construction of a new society greatly affects the economic and cultural development of the country and this is particularly more so during the early stage of revolution.

As a matter of course, the old intellectuals of our country come mostly from the propertied classes. They served the imperialists and exploiting classes in the past. However, as intellectuals of a colonial country, they were subjected to oppression and national discrimination by foreign imperialists and as a result they had a revolutionary mettle originally.

Taking into full account the important role played by the intellectuals in the construction of a new society and the characteristics of our intellectuals, our Party since the early days of liberation has pursued the policy of accepting them and remoulding them into intellectuals serving the working people. Inspired by the Party's policy, the absolute majority of the old intellectuals came over to the side of the people after liberation. They have taken an active part in the revolutionary struggle and construction work. Thus, they have made a valuable contribution, and continue to make a great contribution, to the economic and cultural construction in the country.

Through the persistent education by the Party and the ordeals of the revolutionary struggle, especially through the trials of the Fatherland Lib-

eration War against the armed aggression of U.S. imperialism, our old intellectuals have now been transformed into excellent socialist intellectuals and have developed into important national cadres.

While remoulding the old intellectuals, our Party has paid the greatest attention to training new national cadres from among the working people. With a view to rapidly expanding the ranks of national cadres, the Party adopted the policy of keeping the work of training cadres and educational work ahead of all other work.

Though we lacked experience and all the necessary conditions, we set up no small number of institutions of higher learning including a university, and expanded the network of schooling at all levels on a large scale immediately after liberation. We continued to foster national cadres even during the grim war years, and after the war directed still greater efforts to the work.

Our country introduced compulsory primary education system already in 1956 and enforced compulsory secondary education system in 1958. We will enforce compulsory nine-year technical education in the coming few years.

Pupils and students equal to about one quarter of the total population are now studying in more than 9,000 schools at all levels in our country, of them college students alone numbering 156,000.

Another important policy consistently pursued by our Party in educational work and the work of training cadres is the close combination of general

education with technical education and of education with productive labour.

We have reorganized the former secondary education system to establish a technical education system, and further improved the contents of education, so that all the younger generation may acquire a certain amount of technical knowledge along with a general knowledge of the fundamentals of sciences. Our country has also set up a wide-spread study-while-work system of education—networks of evening schools and correspondence courses, factory colleges and communist colleges. In them large numbers of working people are receiving secondary and higher technical education without being divorced from production.

Despite the country's hard economic conditions, we have thus directed enormous effort to the work of training cadres and to educational work, overcoming all difficulties and obstacles, in order to rid ourselves of backwardness quickly and further accelerate the rate of our advance. As a result, we have been able to build up the ranks of our own national cadres in a comparatively short time, and attained the possibility of bringing up even larger numbers of new cadres in the future. As of October 1964, the technicians and experts in all fields of the national economy of our country numbered more than 290,000. In our country all factories and enterprises, including large modern plants, are operated and managed entirely by our own national technical cadres.

Thus, we have not only established an advanced

socialist system in the northern half of the Republic, but have laid the economic and cultural foundations which enable us to manage the economic life of our country by our own efforts. This constitutes the asset for the happy life of our people and the future prosperity of our society. This also signifies that we have firmly built up our revolutionary base politically, economically and culturally, and constitutes a reliable guarantee for the unification of our fatherland and the final victory of the Korean revolution.

4. ON THE QUESTION OF FIRMLY ESTABLISHING *JUCHE* AND THOROUGHLY IMPLEMENTING THE MASS LINE

All our victories and successes in the socialist revolution and building of socialism are attributable to the Marxist-Leninist leadership of our Party and to the heroic struggle of our people for the thorough implementation of the Party's lines and policies.

What was most important for our Party in giving correct leadership to the Korean people in their revolutionary struggle and construction work, was to establish *Juche* firmly.

The establishment of *Juche* means holding fast to the principle of solving for oneself all the problems of the revolution and construction in conformity with the actual conditions at home, and mainly by one's own efforts. This is the realistic and creative

stand, opposing dogmatism and applying the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the experiences of the international revolutionary movement to one's country in conformity with its historical conditions and national peculiarities. This is an independent stand of discarding dependence on others, displaying the spirit of self-reliance and solving one's own affairs on one's own responsibility under all circumstances.

The Korean Communists are making a revolution in Korea. The Korean revolution is the basic duty of the Korean Communists. It is obvious that one cannot make the Korean revolution if he is ignorant of or removed from the realities of Korea. Also, Marxism-Leninism can be a powerful weapon of our revolution only when it is linked with the realities of our country.

Masters of the Korean revolution are our Party and our people; the decisive factor in the victory of the Korean revolution is also our own strength. It is clear that one cannot make a revolution by relying on others, and that others cannot make the Korean revolution in our stead. International support and encouragement is also important in a revolution, but most important of all in advancing the revolution and bringing it to a victorious conclusion are the endeavours and struggle of ourselves, the masters.

In the world, there are countries big or small and parties with long or short records of struggle. Nevertheless, all parties are fully independent and equal and, on this basis, co-operate closely with

each other. Each party carries on its revolutionary struggle in the specific circumstances and conditions of its own country; by so doing it enriches the experience of the international revolutionary movement and contributes to the further development of this movement. The idea of *Juche* conforms to this principle of the communist movement, and stems directly from it.

The problem of establishing *Juche* has acquired special importance for the Korean Communists owing to the circumstances and conditions of our country and the complexity and arduousness of our revolution.

While resolutely fighting in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism against revisionism, our Party has made every effort to establish *Juche* in opposition to dogmatism and flunkeyism. *Juche* in ideology, independence in politics, self-sustenance in the economy and self-defence in national defence—this is the stand our Party has consistently adhered to.

Our Party, holding fast to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, studies and analyzes the realities of Korea and, on this basis, determines its policies independently. We boldly carry out, unrestrained by any existing formulas or propositions, whatever conforms to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the realities of our country.

We respect the experiences of other countries, but always take a critical attitude towards them. So, we accept experiences beneficial to us, but reject those which are unnecessary or harmful. When introducing the good experience of another country,

we remodel and modify it to suit the actual conditions of our own.

Our Party has always maintained the independent stand in its approach to the international communist movement, especially in the struggle against modern revisionism. We are resolutely fighting against modern revisionism, and this fight is conducted invariably on the basis of our own judgement and conviction and in conformity with our actual conditions. We consider that only by keeping such a stand can we correctly wage the struggle against revisionism and make substantial contributions to the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the strengthening of the unity of the international communist movement.

If one fails to establish *Juche* in the ideological and political spheres, he will be unable to display any initiative because his faculty of independent thinking is paralyzed, and in the end he will even become unable to tell right from wrong and will blindly follow what others do. One who has lost his autonomy and independence in this way may fall into revisionism, dogmatism and every description of Right and "Left" opportunism and may eventually bring the revolution and construction work to naught.

In our country, too, at one time there were persons among the leading personnel who had been infected with dogmatism and flunkeyism. They did no small harm to our work. The dogmatists did not study our realities and disregarding them, sought to swallow undigested the experience of others and

copy it mechanically. Persons of this sort, looking up only to others and accustomed only to imitating what they were doing, slid down in the end to national nihilism, from which all that is their own is disparaged and everything foreign is praised. Such a tendency was most seriously revealed on the ideological front. The dogmatists, instead of studying, explaining and giving publicity to our Party's policies, merely echoed other people like parrots. They even went the length of denying our people's history of struggle and revolutionary traditions. They attempted to paralyze the creative initiative of our scholars in scientific research work, teach to the students what they had copied from others in education too, and to discard all that is national and disseminate only foreign things in literature and the arts as well.

In our country the harmfulness of dogmatism was most strikingly revealed during wartime. It became all the more intolerable in the postwar period when the socialist revolution and the building of socialism proceeded apace. Moreover, in that period we came to realize gradually that the revisionist trend infiltrates through the medium of dogmatism.

In view of this, our Party in 1955 set forth the definite policy of establishing *Juche* and ever since then it has conducted a vigorous ideological struggle to carry it through. The year 1955 marked a turning-point in our Party's consistent struggle against dogmatism. In fact, our struggle against modern revisionism that had emerged within the socialist camp began at that time. Our struggle against dogmatism

was thus linked up with the struggle against modern revisionism.

It was most important in establishing *Juche* to strengthen the study of Marxism-Leninism among the cadres and Party members and, at the same time, to equip them firmly with the ideas of their own Party, the lines and policies of their own Party. We have energetically conducted ideological work among the cadres and Party members so that all of them may think in the way the Party would like them to, make a deep study of the Party's policies, work in accordance with these policies and devotedly strive for their implementation. Our experience shows that when the Party's ranks are firmly united ideologically and organizationally, dogmatism can be overcome, the infiltration of revisionism can be prevented and all work can be executed successfully in line with the Party's intentions.

At the same time, we decisively intensified, among the entire Party membership and working people, the study of our country's past and present and our people's revolutionary and cultural traditions. We saw to it that in all sectors of the ideological front including science, education, literature and the arts, the things of our own country are given priority, the national traditions are honoured, fine national heritages are inherited and carried forward, and the advanced culture of other countries is assimilated too, not by swallowing it whole but after thorough digestion.

These measures have greatly boosted the national pride of our people and their spirit of inde-

pendence, and led them to reject the tendency towards mechanically imitating things of others and endeavour to do everything in conformity to the actual conditions at home. As a result of the establishment of *Juche* science and technology have been advanced with great rapidity, qualitative changes have taken place in education and in the work of training cadres, and a new, socialist national culture, congenial to the life and sentiments of our people, has come into bloom and developed.

While establishing *Juche* in the ideological and political spheres, our Party has, in the economic sphere, held fast to the principle of self-reliance and the line of building an independent national economy.

Absence of the spirit of self-reliance leads one to loss of faith in one's own strength, to making little effort to mobilize domestic resources, and accordingly to failure to carry out the revolutionary cause. We are carrying on the revolutionary struggle and construction work with a determination to make the Korean revolution by our own efforts and build socialism and communism in our country by our labour and with our domestic resources.

Needless to say, we fully recognize the importance of international support and encouragement and consider foreign aid a necessity. But we reject the erroneous ideological points of view and attitude of slackening up one's own revolutionary struggle, merely hoping for a good international chance to offer itself, or making no effort oneself, merely turning to other countries for aid. Both in the revolutionary struggle and in construction work, self-

reliance should be given primary importance, support and encouragement from outside should be regarded as secondary. Only when one struggles in this spirit, can one expedite the revolution and construction of one's own country to the greatest possible degree and also contribute to the development of the international revolutionary movement.

During the period of the postwar rehabilitation our country received from fraternal countries economic and technical aid amounting to some 500 million rubles (550 million dollars). This, of course, was a great help in our rehabilitation and construction. But in those days too, we put the main emphasis on enlisting the efforts of our people and the domestic resources to the full. And, at the same time, we endeavoured to make effective use of the assistance given to us by the fraternal countries too. In actual fact, it was our own efforts that played the decisive role in the postwar rehabilitation and construction. There is no need to make further mention of our country's achievements in economic construction in the subsequent years.

We have thus, on the principle of self-reliance, laid the solid foundations of an independent national economy.

Economic independence is an indispensable requisite for the building of an independent state, rich, strong and enlightened. Without building an independent national economy, it is impossible to ensure the firm political independence of the country, develop its productive forces and improve the livelihood of its people.

Socialism means the complete abolition of national inequality along with class exploitation, and requires the all-round development of economy, science and technology. It is therefore natural that a socialist economy must be an independent economy developed in a comprehensive way.

We by no means oppose economic co-operation between states or advocate building socialism in isolation. What we do reject is the big-power chauvinist tendency to restraining the independent and comprehensive development of the economy of other countries and, furthermore, to placing their economy under one's own control, by using the pretext of "economic co-operation" and "international division of labour." We consider that co-operation should be based on the building of an independent national economy by each country, and that this alone makes possible the steady expansion and development of economic co-operation between states on the principles of complete equality and mutual benefit.

Today our country is developing its economy by relying mainly on its own technique, its domestic resources and the efforts of its own cadres and people; it is supplying the domestic needs for heavy and light industrial goods and agricultural produce mainly with its domestic products.

As for our country's economic relation with other countries, they are those of filling each other's needs and co-operating with each other on the principles of complete equality and mutual benefit. These relations find expression in foreign trade and in various other ways.

Having laid the solid foundations of an independent national economy, we have come to possess our own economic basis for increasing the wealth and power of the country and radically enhancing the people's livelihood, and have become able to further expand and develop economic co-operation with other countries. Our economic independence also constitutes the reliable material basis for guaranteeing the country's political independence and strengthening its defence capacities.

Along with the establishment of *Juche*, the thorough implementation of the mass line has been one of the most important questions in our Party's leadership in the revolution and construction work.

Considering that the decisive guarantee for the acceleration of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism consists in enlisting all the creative energies of the masses of the people and offering full scope for their enthusiasm, initiative and talents, our Party has consistently held to the revolutionary mass line in all its activities.

Our Party has been able to achieve tremendous successes in the socialist revolution and the building of socialism by relying on the high revolutionary zeal and inexhaustible creative power of our people who, grasping their destinies in their own hands, are out to build a new life. Whenever it encountered difficulties and ordeals, the Party, placing faith in the masses of the people, consulted with them and enlisted their efforts and wisdom in overcoming these difficulties and ordeals.

We have also successfully carried out many huge

and difficult construction projects by unfolding a mass campaign. The let-machinetool-make-machine-tools movement, the building of local industry factories, large-scale nature-remaking projects for irrigation, and the rehabilitation and construction of towns and villages which had been reduced to ashes—all these were carried out through mass campaigns, through all-people drives.

In our country, science and technology are also developing rapidly as a mass movement, through the creative co-operation of scientists and technicians on the one hand and workers and peasants on the other. Literature and the arts are also flowering resplendently with every passing day through the combination of the activities of professional writers and artists with the literary and art activities of the broad masses.

The method of relying on the masses and rousing them widely to activity is a revolutionary and positive one. It is a method that makes it possible to mobilize all the potentialities and possibilities to the full in the revolution and construction.

The Marxist-Leninist Party must at all times thoroughly implement the mass line, both before and after seizing power, both in the revolutionary struggle and in construction work. And the danger of going back on the mass line increases after the Party has seized power. Upon its founding after liberation, our Party assumed the leadership of the government. Many of our functionaries had little experience in the revolutionary struggle and mass work in the past. For this reason it was particularly

important for us to improve the method and style of work of the functionaries so as to implement the mass line.

Our Party has waged a vigorous ideological struggle to eliminate bureaucracy and establish the revolutionary mass viewpoint among the functionaries. The Party has made tireless efforts to get all the functionaries to acquire the revolutionary method of work of going deep among the masses, consulting with them, deriving strength and wisdom from them and mobilizing them to solve the tasks set before them.

The method of work, called the Chongsan-ri method in our country, is an embodiment and development of our Party's mass line in conformity with the new realities of socialist construction. The essence of the Chongsan-ri method lies in the fact that the upper organs help the lower ones, superiors help their inferiors, priority is given to political work and the masses are roused to carry out the revolutionary tasks.

Through the popularization of the Chongsan-ri method, we have decisively improved the functionaries' method and style of work and brought about a big turn in the work of the Party, state and economic organs.

To give priority to political work is most important in bringing into full play the revolutionary zeal and creative energy of the masses of the people.

The Communists always fight in defence of the interests of the people and for their happiness. To this end, the broad masses of the people must be

awakened and mobilized. One of the inherent advantages of socialism is that under the socialist system the working people, freed from exploitation and oppression, display voluntary enthusiasm and creative initiative in their work for the state and society and for their own happiness.

To carry out political work well among the masses in order to induce them voluntarily to perform the revolutionary tasks is, therefore, an effective method of work stemming from the character of the Communists and from the nature of the socialist system.

It is absolutely wrong to be immersed only in economic and technical work while neglecting political work, to lay stress on material interest only, without raising the political and ideological consciousness of the working people.

Our Party has firmly adhered to the principle of giving priority to political work in all matters.

When we undertook any revolutionary task, we began by thoroughly explaining and bringing home to all the Party members and the masses the Party's policy with regard to the task and saw that they held mass discussions about ways and means of executing the Party's policy and strove to carry it through with a high degree of political consciousness and enthusiasm. In order to enhance the class awakening and the level of political and ideological consciousness of the working people, we have also energetically carried out communist education among them in combination with education in the Party's policies and the revolutionary traditions.

Political work is none other than work with people, and it is basic to Party work. Apart from the Party's leadership, the masses cannot be mobilized, nor can socialism and communism be built. Only on the basis of enhancing the leading role of the Party and constantly strengthening Party work in all spheres, we have been able to successfully carry out the principle of giving priority to political work.

Thus, by energetically carrying on political work, work with people, which is the basis of Party work, we have been able to bring into full play the revolutionary enthusiasm and creative power of our working people and inspire them to mass heroism and to a mass labour upsurge.

The basic method our Party employs in mobilizing the masses in socialist construction is to raise the Party's leading role and invariably give priority to political work, combining this properly with economic and technical work, to steadily enhance the political awakening and the level of consciousness of the working people and to properly combine this with the material interest.

One of the very important problems in the carrying out of our Party's mass line was that of educating and remoulding the masses of all strata and uniting them solidly around the Party.

The political unity and solidarity of the people in the northern half of the Republic is not only the decisive guarantee for building a new life in the northern half, but also it is one of the basic factors in unifying the fatherland and achieving the victory of the Korean revolution.

Our Party had consistently and tirelessly worked for rallying the people of all walks of life in the northern half closely around itself and for turning our revolutionary base into a stronger political force.

The protracted colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, the partition of the country and, particularly, the sowing of discord among our people by the enemy during the war, have rendered the social and political composition of the population of our country very complex. We, however, cannot make revolution with spotless people alone, rejecting all those whose social origin and whose records of social and political life are complex.

Therefore, our Party, closely combining the class line and the mass line, has adopted the policy of winning over to the side of revolution all people, with the exception of the handful of malicious elements. Under the circumstances in which the socialist system already triumphed, the Party's strength decisively grew and the Party's authority and prestige became unshakable among the masses, we considered that we were able to educate and remould all the people, except the conscious reactionaries of hostile class origin.

We boldly trusted and embraced even those whose social origin and whose records of social and political life were complex, and ensured them conditions for working in peace, provided they now supported our Party and displayed enthusiasm in their work.

Life has fully confirmed the correctness of this policy of our Party. By carrying out the policy we have been able, and are successfully continuing, to

educate and remould the broad masses of people of various strata. Although the composition of our population is complex and we are standing face to face tensely with the enemy, our Party has today united the masses of the people rock-firm around itself, and a cheerful, uplifted atmosphere prevails in our society.

The all-people Chollima movement which has been unfolded with untiring vigour in our country is the most brilliant embodiment of the mass line of our Party.

The Chollima movement is a mass drive which organically links collective innovation in economic and cultural construction with the work of educating and remoulding the working people. Through the Chollima movement all the wisdom, enthusiasm and creative energy of our people is brought into full play, innovations are effected in all spheres of economy, culture, ideology and morality, and the building of socialism in our country is greatly accelerated.

The Chollima movement is the general line of our Party in socialist construction. The essence of this line is to unite the entire working people more firmly around the Party by educating and remoulding them in communist ideas, and to give full scope to their revolutionary zeal and creative talents so as to build socialism better and faster.

We will continue to develop the Chollima movement both in scale and in depth and thus further expedite the building of socialism in the northern half of our country.

5. ON THE SOUTH KOREAN REVOLUTION

Being a revolution for liberating one half of our country's territory and the two-thirds of its population still held in bondage by foreign imperialists, the revolution in South Korea is an important component part of the Korean revolution as a whole. For the unification of our fatherland and the victory of the Korean revolution, it is necessary to strengthen the revolutionary forces in South Korea while strengthening the socialist forces in the northern half, and carry out the revolution in South Korea while promoting socialist construction in the northern half.

Since the first days of their occupation of South Korea, the U.S. imperialists have pursued the policies of military aggression and colonial enslavement. As a result, South Korea has been entirely turned into a colony, a military base of the U.S. imperialists.

The South Korean "regime" is a puppet regime rigged up with the bayonet support of the U.S. imperialists; it is nothing but a tool faithfully executing the instructions of its U.S. overlords.

Through this puppet regime and by the use of so-called "aid" as a bait, the U.S. imperialists have placed all the political, economic, cultural and military affairs of South Korea under their control.

Under the signboard of "joint defence" they have directly thrown their aggressive troops, nearly 60,000 strong, into South Korea. Moreover, in the name of so-called "Commander of the U.N. Forces" the U.S.

army commander has the absolute prerogative of supreme command over the South Korean army.

Having occupied South Korea the U.S. troops have barbarously insulted and massacred innocent people in South Korea. They have introduced nuclear and rocket weapons into South Korea, thus turning South Korea into their military base for aggression, and constantly jeopardized peace in Korea.

The U.S. imperialists' "aid" to South Korea is a major means of aggression and plunder.

The U.S. imperialists gave some 12,000 million dollars of "aid" to South Korea between 1945 and 1964, of this 3,600 million dollars were economic "aid" and all the remainder military "aid."

The U.S. imperialists' military "aid" goes to meet part of the military expenditure for the upkeep of the puppet army of South Korea more than 600,000 strong. The South Korean army is a mercenary army entirely serving the U.S. policy of aggression. And the support of one division of the South Korean puppet army costs the U.S. imperialists only one-twenty-fifth of the expenditure necessary for the maintenance of a U.S. army division. Thus, by forcibly dragging out the young and middle-aged people of South Korea and using them for their aggressive purposes, the U.S. imperialists are "saving" themselves enormous military expenditure while imposing heavy military burdens on the South Korean people. Also by employing this huge puppet army in place of their own troops, they give the South Korean army an air of serving some sort of national interests and camouflage themselves as some kind of "helpers."

The economic "aid" of U.S. imperialism is also nothing but a means for subordinating the economy of South Korea to the ends of the U.S. imperialists' military aggression and colonial plunder. By incorporating "aid funds" into the budgetary system of the puppet government, the U.S. imperialists have obtained a tight grip on its budget and, through the accommodation of these funds, control the banking organizations and enterprises in South Korea. In this way they control 45 to 50 per cent of South Korea's financial budget and 30 per cent of its banking funds, and monopolize 70 to 80 per cent of the supply of raw materials and 80 per cent of the imports. Today the South Korean economy is entirely dependent on the United States; financial and economic organizations and enterprises in South Korea are in a situation where they will have to stop operations the moment "aid" from U.S. imperialism is suspended.

All this convincingly shows that U.S. imperialism is the real ruler in South Korea.

In order to secure a more favourable foothold for their colonial domination following their occupation of South Korea, the U.S. imperialists reorganized part of the socio-economic relations in South Korea.

In their aggression against South Korea, the U.S. imperialists attached prime importance to the fostering of the comprador capitalist, who was to play the role of middleman in the disposal of their surplus goods, act as fingerman for the infiltration of U.S. private capital, as agent in their plunder of the coun-

try's resources and as local purveyor of certain war materials.

They bolstered up the position of comprador capital by handing over to private capitalists and speculators, for a mere token payment, the properties formerly owned by Japanese imperialists, by enabling them to rake in exorbitant profits by monopolizing the rights to purchase and sell the "aid" goods dumped by the U.S. imperialists in South Korea, or by other methods. The share of South Korea's comprador capital in its key industries under the rule of the Japanese imperialists was barely six per cent, but today some 500 comprador capitalists have seized about 40 per cent of South Korea's manufacturing industry, around 80 per cent of its mining industry and more than 50 per cent of its foreign trade.

The U.S. imperialists have preserved the feudal exploiting system in the South Korean countryside, which is favourable to their colonial domination and pillage. They enforced the so-called "agrarian reform" in South Korea, but this was only a piece of trickery designed to quell the demand for land by the South Korean peasants who had been inspired by the land reform in North Korea. Even after the enforcement of the "agrarian reform" the feudal relations of exploitation continues to hold sway in the South Korean villages and the peasant economy has become even more fragmented than before.

Today, about 100,000 landlords hold 40 per cent of the total arable land and exploit 1,400,000 peasant households in South Korea. The peasants in South Korea have to pay farm rent amounting to 50 to 60

per cent of their harvest, and most of them are shackled by debts to the landlords and rich peasants through usury.

U.S. imperialism has thus set up a system of colonial rule following its occupation of South Korea and, on this basis, has been enforcing an unprecedented military dictatorship over the South Korean people.

In South Korea, policemen and bureaucrats alone number more than 155,000. At present, 370,000 political special agents are rampant against the people in South Korea.

This colonial-type social, political and economic system has become fetters which curb the development of the economy and the democratization of social life in South Korea.

Today the national economy of South Korea is totally bankrupt and its industrial output stands at no more than 85 per cent of that at the time of liberation.

South Korea's agriculture is likewise in an acute crisis. Agricultural output has dropped to two-thirds of what it was at the time of liberation. South Korea, once the granary of our country, has been turned into an area of chronic famine which now has to import 800,000 to 1,000,000 tons of cereals every year.

Today there are roughly seven million unemployed and semi-unemployed in South Korea. And each year more than one million peasant households suffer from lack of food during the lean spring months.

The national culture and the good manners and

customs, peculiar to the Korean people, are trampled underfoot and the decadent and fin-de-siecle American way of life is corroding all that was sound in social life.

The people are entirely denied political rights and are living exposed to terrorism and tyranny.

The economic catastrophe in South Korea and the wretched social position of its people have produced sharp social, class and national contradictions.

The basic contradiction in South Korean society at the present stage is that between U.S. imperialism and its accomplices—landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats—on the one hand and the workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeois and national capitalists on the other.

Therefore, to attain freedom and liberation, the South Korean people must drive out the U.S. imperialist forces of aggression and overthrow the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats who are in league with the U.S. imperialists. U.S. imperialism, above all, is target No. 1 of struggle for the South Korean people.

There can be neither freedom and liberation for the people in South Korea, nor progress in South Korean society, nor the unification of our fatherland, unless the U.S. imperialist aggressive troops are driven out and U.S. imperialist colonial rule is abolished in South Korea.

Thus the revolution in South Korea is a national-liberation revolution against the foreign imperialist forces of aggression, and a democratic revolution against the feudal forces.

The motive force of this revolution in South Korea is the working class and its most reliable ally—the peasantry, together with the students, intellectuals and petty bourgeois who are opposed to the imperialist and feudal forces. The national capitalists, too, may have a share in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle.

Our Party, with the support of the socialist forces of North Korea, has all along been waging a stubborn struggle to carry out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution in South Korea by mobilizing all its patriotic, democratic forces.

The course of the South Korean revolution is beset with numerous difficulties and obstacles.

The occupation of South Korea by the U.S. imperialist aggression forces and the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression are the underlying factors of the complex, arduous and protracted nature of both the revolution in South Korea and the Korean revolution as a whole.

The U.S. imperialists need South Korea not merely as a market for their surplus goods or as a supply base of strategic resources. They also need South Korea as the military operational base for the occupation of the whole of Korea, as a bridgehead for attack on the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic and aggression on the Asian continent, and, further, as an important strategic point for world domination.

That is why the U.S. imperialists have stationed in South Korea more than half of their ground force,

Pacific, although they are floundering in a tight corner in all parts of the world today.

Thus, the revolution in South Korea has as its target of struggle a powerful enemy—U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious and treacherous of all imperialists.

South Korea is the assembly ground and the den of the domestic reactionaries.

In contrast to what happened in North Korea, the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism were not liquidated in South Korea after liberation. In order to establish a foothold for their colonial domination the U.S. imperialists actively protected and rallied the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism. The former pro-Japanese forces have now turned pro-American and have grown further.

Moreover, as the revolutionary struggle was intensified in North Korea and the counter-revolutionary elements there sustained heavy blows, some landlords, comprador capitalists, pro-Japanese lackeys, traitors to the nation, vicious bureaucrats and fascist elements fled from North Korea to South Korea to join up with the reactionary forces.

In addition, no small reactionary forces that had been scattered in foreign lands crawled their way into South Korea.

The domestic reactionary forces thus brought together formed counter-revolutionary forces in collusion with outside forces and turned against the revolutionary forces.

"Anti-communist" ideas are also deeply rooted in South Korea. For 36 years in the past Japanese im-

perialism malignantly infused "anti-communist" ideas and after liberation U.S. imperialism and its lackeys further stepped up the "anti-communist" propaganda, and this on top of the fact that the petty bourgeoisie made up the overwhelming majority of the population and the cultural level of the masses was very low.

During the Fatherland Liberation War the People's Army advanced and ideologically enlightened the people in the liberated areas to a certain extent, but the influence was not great because their stay in those areas was short.

As a result, a considerable proportion of the people in South Korea are still taken in by the "anti-communist" propaganda of the enemy. This is a serious obstacle to the development of the revolution in South Korea.

All this has created very difficult circumstances for the revolution in South Korea, which has to go through many turns and twists.

This notwithstanding, the South Korean people have been waging a stubborn struggle, ever since liberation up to the present, against the colonial fascist rule of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, in defence of their right to live, for democracy and the unification of the fatherland.

Immediately after the August 15 liberation the working-class movement surged forward rapidly in South Korea, and under its impact the struggle of the people of all walks of life mounted.

Inspired by the successes of the revolution in the

northern half, the people in South Korea fought unyieldingly against the U.S. imperialist policy of colonial enslavement, for the sovereignty and independence of their fatherland, and for democratic reforms of the kind that had been carried out in the northern half.

The general strike staged by the South Korean workers in September 1946 who demanded food, higher wages, an immediate halt to the cruel suppression of every description by the U.S. military government, enforcement of a democratic labour law, developed into an all-people anti-U.S. resistance in October, involving about 2,300,000 patriotic people.

In the years that followed, the anti-U.S., national-salvation struggle of the people in South Korea such as the February 7th (1948) national-salvation struggle against the entry of the "U.N. Commission on Korea" which was cooked up by U.S. imperialism and the struggle against the ruinous-to-the-country May 10th separate elections, went on vigorously.

Struggles were waged by the soldiers of the puppet army, too. For example, in October 1948 there was a mutiny at Ryosu in protest against the barbarous suppression and slaughter of the people by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, in which even the local people joined. They smashed up the puppet offices of administration, and for a time they were in complete occupation of the city of Ryosu.

These struggle showed that the people in South Korea were resolutely opposed to the U.S. imperialist policy of colonial enslavement and the traitorous acts of the domestic reactionaries, and were firmly

demanding the freedom and independence of the fatherland and the establishment of a democratic system. They strikingly demonstrated the revolutionary spirit and great strength of the masses of the people.

But the struggle of the people in South Korea entered a period of temporary ebb owing to the rigging up of a puppet, separate regime in South Korea in May 1948 and to the policy of fascistization pursued thereafter by U.S. imperialism and the Syngman Rhee clique.

The U.S. imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique mobilized U.S. army units equipped with up-to-date arms to put down the mass movement and perpetrated barbarous acts, arresting patriotic people at random, imprisoning and murdering them.

The U.S. imperialists also resorted to a crafty scheme designed to split and break up the revolutionary forces from within, by using the factionalists and spies who had sneaked into the leadership of the Workers' Party of South Korea. As a result, at that time the Party organizations were totally destroyed and the revolutionary forces were split in South Korea.

During the postwar years the people's struggle in South Korea gradually embarked upon the road of a new advancement.

Inspired by the successful socialist construction in the northern half, the people in South Korea have in the postwar period been persistently fighting against U.S. imperialism and its stooges and for democratic freedom and rights.

The massive Popular Uprising in April 1960, in which students and youth of South Korea played the central role, overthrew the puppet government of Syngman Rhee, the old minion of U.S. imperialism. This was the initial victory of the South Korean people's struggle and dealt a heavy blow to the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism.

The collapse of the puppet Syngman Rhee government signified, in the first place, the bankruptcy of all its anti-popular policies and the notorious "march north" clamour.

In this heroic struggle the people in South Korea demonstrated the revolutionary mettle of the Korean people, gained valuable experiences, learned valuable lessons and were greatly enlightened politically.

After the April Popular Uprising, the situation in South Korea rapidly developed in favour of the revolution and the fighting spirit of the masses, fighting against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys for the independent peaceful unification of the fatherland, ran high.

Thus, the struggle of the people in South Korea under the slogan, "Unification is the only way to life," began to develop into one for tearing down the barrier between the North and the South.

The U.S. imperialists, greatly alarmed by the developments in South Korea after the April Popular Uprising, engineered a military coup by aiding and abetting the fascist elements within the military, and subsequently staged a plot for the replacement of the Chang Myon regime, the

second puppet regime, with the Pak Jung Hi military fascist regime.

This, however, has only resulted in the further aggravation of the crisis of the U.S. imperialist machinery of colonial rule.

Last year witnessed another large-scale anti-imperialist, anti-fascist struggle of the students and youth in South Korea.

The struggle started in opposition to the regression of Japanese militarism and for the purpose of shattering the "South Korea-Japan talks," and gradually assumed an anti-"government" nature and developed into a struggle for toppling the Pak Jung Hi regime.

This patriotic, progressive struggle of the students and youth, which lasted over 70 days from March 24 to June 5, dealt another heavy blow to the Pak Jung Hi clique and the U.S. imperialists.

While intensifying the policy of fascist repression and terror against the people internally in order to crush the advance of the students, youth and the masses of the people today, the U.S. imperialists and the Pak Jung Hi regime are externally hastening to team up with the Japanese militarists and, further, they are trying to establish an "anti-communist" Northeast Asia joint defence system.

With none of these manoeuvres, however, can the U.S. imperialists and the Pak Jung Hi regime cope with the ever-worsening crisis of their colonial rule, nor can they break the patriotic spirit of the people of South Korea who oppose the U.S. imperialist

colonial rule and are striving to achieve the freedom and independence of their fatherland.

In South Korea today, the conflict between democracy and reaction, between the patriotic revolutionary forces and the imperialist forces of aggression is growing more acute, and the imperialist and reactionary forces are being isolated and weakened with each passing day.

The national and class awakening of the people is rising gradually, their anti-U.S. sentiments are rapidly mounting and their trend towards the independent peaceful unification is growing daily. The people in South Korea are being steeled constantly in the struggle, are accumulating rich political experience and becoming united in a more organized way.

At the present stage the basic line of the revolution in South Korea is to preserve the revolutionary forces from suppression by the enemy and, meanwhile, to constantly accumulate and reinforce these forces in preparation for the forthcoming great revolutionary event.

Most important of all in this connection is to firmly build up a revolutionary Party and prepare the main force of the revolution in South Korea. To build up the main force of the revolution means uniting around the Party the basic classes that can be mobilized for the revolution, namely, the workers and the peasants.

In South Korea at present, ranks of the revolutionary core armed with Marxism-Leninism are growing, the class consciousness of the workers and

peasants is being heightened and the revolutionary strength is continually expanding among them.

It is important to form a united front embracing all social circles and strata on the basis of building up a revolutionary Party and closely uniting the workers, peasants and all other working people.

The South Korean revolutionaries are directing special attention to combining the struggle of the workers and peasants with that of the youth, students and intellectuals. At the same time, they are endeavouring to form a broad anti-U.S., national-salvation united front embracing all social circles and strata.

The growth and strengthening of the revolutionary forces and the formation and consolidation of the anti-U.S., national-salvation united front can be realized successfully only under the condition of the extensive struggle of the masses. Our Party actively supports, encourages and inspires all forms of the progressive, patriotic mass movements waged in South Korea.

In the final analysis, the revolution in South Korea can triumph only through the growth of the revolutionary forces of the people in South Korea and by their decisive struggle. Through the struggle the people in South Korea will be further awakened and steeled and eventually will grow into an invincible revolutionary force. In this way, when the time comes they will surely drive out the U.S. imperialists and throw their lackeys overboard, thereby winning victory in the revolution.

The revolution in South Korea, no matter what

method is employed, can be victorious only when the revolutionary forces are strengthened. Needless to say, once U.S. imperialism is driven out and the revolution triumphs in South Korea, the unification of our fatherland will be accomplished peacefully.

It is the duty of our Party to do everything in its power to expedite the growth of the revolutionary forces in South Korea and to assist the South Korean people in their revolutionary struggle.

It can be said that the unification of our fatherland and the country-wide victory of the Korean revolution depend, after all, on the preparation of three major forces.

First, to further strengthen our revolutionary base politically, economically and militarily by successfully building socialism in the northern half of the Republic;

Secondly, to strengthen the revolutionary forces in South Korea by politically awakening and closely uniting the people in South Korea;

Thirdly, to strengthen the unity of the Korean people with the international revolutionary forces.

Our Party is striving unremittingly to strengthen these three revolutionary forces.

It is of great importance for the victory of our revolution that the Korean people strengthen the unity with the international revolutionary forces and isolate and weaken the U.S. imperialist aggressors internationally.

Our Party is steadfastly adhering to the line of firmly uniting with the peoples of the socialist countries, and of actively supporting and strengthening

the unity with the peoples of the newly-independent countries fighting against imperialist aggression and the peoples of all countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America who are fighting to free themselves from the yoke of imperialism. We are endeavouring to strengthen solidarity with the progressive peoples of the whole world.

In this connection, it is of great importance to strengthen unity with the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and, in particular, to fight in unity with the entire Asian people in order to drive the U.S. imperialists out of Asia.

The anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist struggle of the Communists and people of Indonesia is conducive to the common struggle of the Asian people.

The Korean people put great value on their ties and unity with the Indonesian Communists and the Indonesian people, and actively support their revolutionary struggle.

Holding high the banner of revolution, the Communists and the peoples of our two countries will at all times fight in firm unity for national independence, socialism and peace, against the imperialist forces of aggression led by U.S. imperialism.

Printed in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea